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The study considered what alterations in child rearing environment occur for children placed in group day care, and what effects family background and the emotional climate of the center have upon extent of alteration. The sample consisted of 30 centers and their directors, 67 teachers, and 250 mothers. Responses on the schedule of child rearing practices indicated that parents used punitive methods more frequently, whereas teachers used restriction. Teachers were more consistent in their enforcement of discipline, modified their approach more according to the child's age, and were more interested in maintaining order and the smooth functioning of routine. Parents, on the other hand, had higher standards in areas of behavior with moral connotations. Because parents of low economic status were stricter than other parents and had higher expectations of behavior, their children were most likely to experience alteration. Among centers, differences were found in the degree to which teachers would accept behavior and in the type and amount of direction adults should give to children's activities. Additional data concern ethnic groups and their standards, the interviewers, and the centers' clientele, personnel, emotional climate, and programs. Specific behaviors are detailed. Conclusions stress the director's role and the discrepancy between standards and practices. Two tables are provided. (JD)

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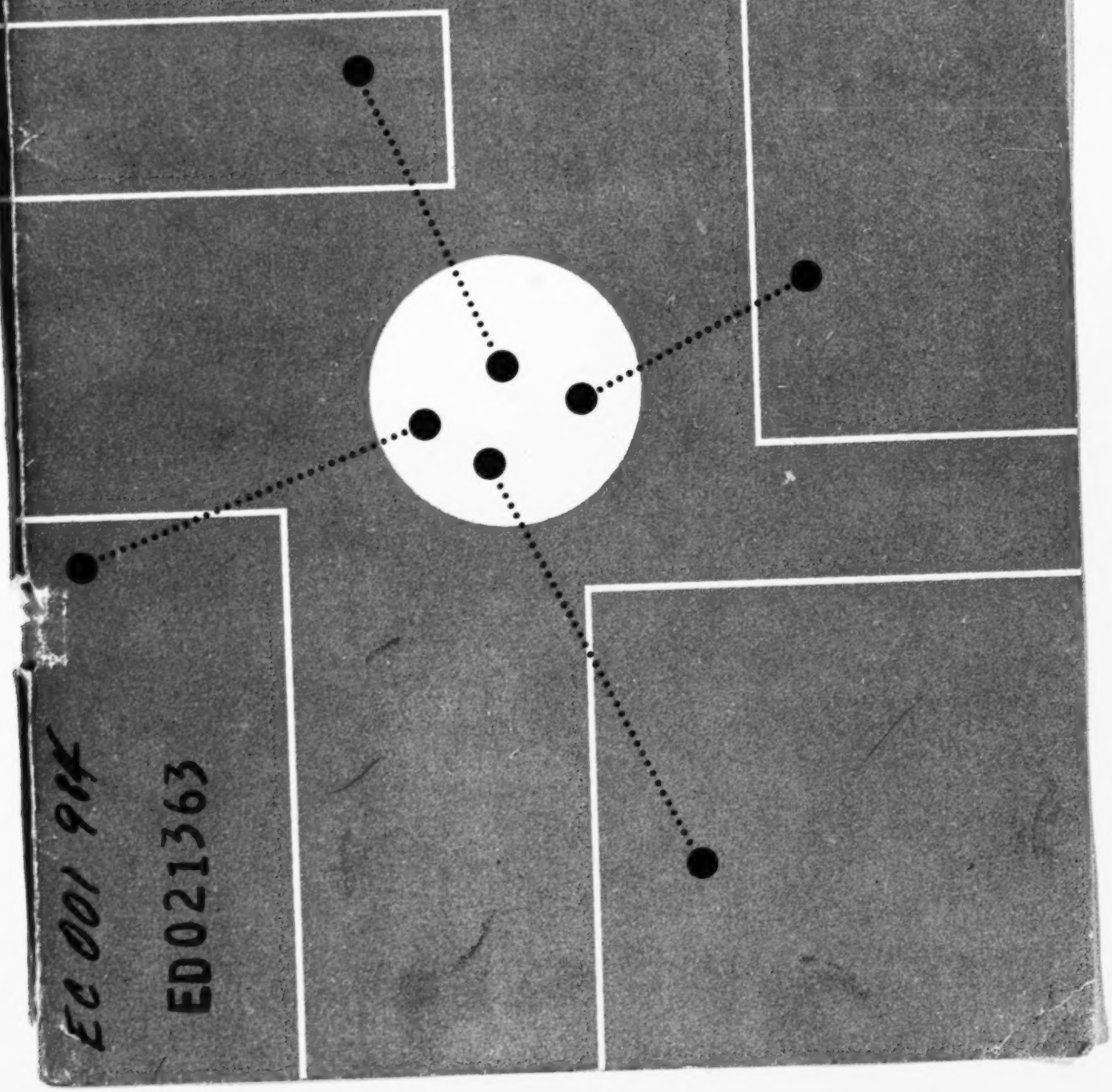

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a pilot study of DAY-CARE CENTERS and their CLIENTELE

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foreword

In 1962 the Children's Bureau initiated a program of research and demonstration grants in the area of child welfare services. This program is already yielding some valuable findings about matters relevant to the practice of social work in this important area, and many more are to be expected in the future.

Reports of many of these investigations will undoubtedly be published in journals and in monograph form and so will be available to the profession and others interested. It is our feeling, however, that some reports need wider circulation and, in some cases, a more popularized style than the usual mode of publication affords. We are, therefore, initiating a publication series of our own based on material contained in project reports. In this series an attempt will be made to present the research and demonstration findings in a form that will have practical implications for the child welfare field.

The present report is the first in this series. In it certain aspects of day care, as represented in a fairly large sample of day-care centers in Los Angeles in 1963, are examined against a background of social psychological theory and hypotheses. Readers who are interested in more detailed information about research method and findings are referred to the full report, which has been published by the Welfare Planning Council of Los Angeles.

The Los Angeles area, which has close to ten percent of all the day-care centers in the United States, has not only done pioneering work in this field but has also had the courage to examine what they have done. In so doing they have brought to light problems which everyone concerned with the development of day-care centers should be aware of, in order to correct them or avoid them.

In day care the social work component is especially important. Social workers help to smooth the transition from home to day-care center and relieve separation anxiety. They attempt to relate the children's experiences in day care with their experiences at home and to resolve problems arising from differences in the expectations of parents and center personnel. They help parents with problems affecting the parent-child relationship. Since the present report bears so significantly on some of these matters, it seemed especially suitable to be the first in our new series.

Katherine B. Oettinger

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a pilot study of DAY-CARE CENTERS and their CLIENTELE

Some Considerations Underlying the Study

The major premise on which this study was based is that settings (in the present case, homes and day-care centers) in which events and behavior are to occur possess inherent regulatory features that stem from the purposes for which the settings exist, their physical attributes, and the number and kinds of persons present in them. These aspects of a setting determine, to a considerable extent, the activities and types of behavior that will probably occur within its boundaries. When a setting is not optimal for certain activities and behaviors, these actions are not likely to occur unless the persons in the setting are highly motivated to secure them and are exceptionally skilled in facilitating them.[1]

Responsible adults who care for children, regardless of setting, do not permit those activities that they consider dangerous to children's health or safety, or that are beyond the adults' abilities to cope with. Although other considerations, such as the value the adult places on an activity and his skills in controlling it, also determine whether certain behavior will be permitted or encouraged, the first consideration is usually the question of feasibility in a given setting or situation. For example, a mother driving on a busy freeway will forbid children in the car to shout or jump, a restriction she would consider unnecessary in the setting of a back yard. The day-care setting, because it brings preschool children together in groups, exerts a powerful

[1] For elaboration of these points see writings of Roger G. Barker, especially his article, "On the Nature of the Environment," *Journal of Social Issues*, XIX (1963), pp. 17–38.

regulatory force on activities and behavior, encouraging some that are not easily evoked in a home setting and eliminating others that occur easily at home.

Limits for health and safety appear to differ markedly as between home and day-care center. The fact that day-care personnel not only have the responsibility for the care of children not their own but must also cope with a group of ten or more children at a time results in differences between home and day-care settings, both in activities and in types of behavior that are elicited and permitted. The extreme concern for health and safety in day-care centers often results in restrictions on such activities as climbing, running, water play, swinging, and unorthodox use of equipment (e.g., riding a tricycle backwards). These restrictions on physical movement may prohibit behavior that lets children test the limits of their skill and strength. Children in a home and neighborhood setting ordinarily are much freer to set their own limits on physical activities.

At home, children often are out of adult view. During these times children are expected to control their wishes to engage in activities that are forbidden, such as turning on the garden hose or going beyond the boundaries set for visits in the neighborhood. In day-care centers children are usually not permitted to get out of the range of adult view, not only because this would be considered unsafe but also because here the adults have only one overall task, that of child care, while mothers may perform many simultaneous tasks. As a result, children may be given more responsibility for their own behavior at home than in day-care centers—and also probably more often commit serious transgressions of rules. These differences in opportunities for both self-control and transgressions of rules may result in differences between home-reared and day-care-reared children in level of conscience development and degree of awareness of failure to measure up to adult expectations.

Children in day-care centers are likely to have their activities planned by the teachers, who ordinarily control the schedule and so dictate when activities shall begin and end. Teachers also usually select the times when toileting will occur. This type of regulation of activities seldom occurs in a home. There children more frequently select their own activities, and, to a large degree, have the right to initiate and terminate them. At home, too, children usually may choose between group and solitary play. These opportunities for decision and control are less easily provided in a group setting.

As compared with home care, group care may provide fewer opportunities for children to observe adult activities and transactions. For instance, home-reared young children usually have some freedom to explore the neighborhood and to accompany adults on shopping trips. If situations that provide opportunities to observe adult roles

are not provided when children return home, it would appear that children in day care may form only a vague and restricted picture of adult roles, and, in consequence, may show less interest in acquiring the attributes associated with such roles.

The opportunity for children to gain access to the exclusive attention of an adult also may differ between settings. The advantage of easy access is that it permits a child to converse with an adult, to put ideas and experiences into words, to have his word usage and accuracy of expression corrected and enlarged upon. Because of the number of children to be cared for and the program demands, children in day care may have limited opportunities to participate in spontaneous conversations with adults, to seek out adults for company or reassurance, or to receive adult help in putting feelings into words. A possible consequence may be retarded language development, especially in the area of ability to translate personal feelings, desires, and experiences into words.

Another powerful regulator in the day-care center is the necessity to cope with behavioral contagion, the copying of the emotional state or activities of one child by others. Teachers are quick to put a stop to activities such as loud or excited talking, clowning, or invention of novel activities or noises that threaten their ability to control the group. The result may be a blandness of climate, one in which extremes of feeling and behavior are somewhat muted. This may mean that children may have fewer opportunities than at home to express excitement about their accomplishments or to experience and express extremes in feelings of any kind.

There are certain types of activities, however, that are facilitated by a group-care setting. The most natural activity in this sort of setting is cooperative play. Group care practically guarantees preschool children opportunities for rewarding play with peers. It is unusual for even the most unsociable child to resist the pleasure of friendship during a year or more in a day-care center. The fact that these friendships occur in the center and do not integrate the child into a widening circle of home-neighborhood-community relationships may, however, alter the meaning that friendships made in the center hold for a child. Nonetheless, children in day-care centers do have an opportunity to learn the skills associated with forming friendships.

Children in group care are given instruction in the basic rules of social living through such activities as marching, singing, and playing house. Indeed, activities that call for cooperative play are especially suitable to group care, while individual activities are less easily arranged, and those that involve preparation and cleanup, such as work with clay, painting, etc., are often considered unfeasible unless extra adult help is available. Individual activities that require a small ratio of children to adults, such as helping a child make a book

from his own stories, are especially difficult to provide for. The most satisfactory types of individual activities for day-care centers appear to be small, manipulatory games that develop small-muscle skill; for example, assembling puzzles and bead-stringing. In general, program activities in group day care probably encourage children to find pleasure and satisfaction in interactions with their peers rather than in their relations with adults or in solitary, individual activities.

The fact that children in group care are of similar age and supervised by experienced adults and the fact that efficiency in care requires that all children participate in routines and activities both contribute to the development of expectations and maturational demands that do not tax the capacity of children. But one demand for a high level of maturity is apt to be made in group care: namely, the children are expected to be relatively independent of adult help or support. Otherwise, children in day-care centers are seldom faced with demands that test the limits of their abilities. At home, in contrast, maturational expectations so consistently within reach of the child probably occur with less frequency, especially in homes that contain only one or two children.

One other aspect of the day-care situation that may influence children's development is the nature of the exchange in child-rearing responsibilities between the home and the day-care center. When children are placed in day care, the times during the day that mothers are with their children, the amount of time they can spend with them, and the activities that are appropriate to these times, all militate against the parents assuming a primary responsibility for training and control. Mothers are present in the early morning, late afternoon, and evening. In the early morning, mothers are rushed and children are sleepy. By late afternoon, children are tired and must be fed and put to bed. Neither time of day is optimal for training or teaching children or for the exercise of firm, patient control.

From these considerations we hypothesize that group day care, as compared with home care, usually offers fewer opportunities for children to test the limits of their skill and competence, to exercise control over the initiation and termination of activities, to reject temptations, to observe adult roles, and to talk with adults. Group care, however, offers superior opportunities for the development of social skills and for discovery of the pleasures of peer companionship. When children are in group care during the day, parental functions tend to be directed toward meeting dependency needs rather than toward encouragement of skills, while teachers assume the opposite functions.

These possible differences between home and day-care settings suggest possible effects on young children who spend much time in day-care centers. If these children are restricted in feats of daring and

in control of their own activities so that they have few opportunities to test their own powers, and if there are limited opportunities for comparison of self with adults, they may have less feel for the nature and extent of their abilities and their inadequacies and may have less sense of the joys of accomplishment and the frustration of ineptitude than children reared wholly at home. Since such feelings provide strong motivation for achievement and mastery, it could be that children who have spent much time in day-care centers will make less adequate progress in school. If children in centers have limited opportunities to develop a conception of adults as a source of help in realizing their desires and in increasing their competence, they may enter school with less skill in verbal expression and less motivation for achievement than children from optimal home-neighborhood settings. It may be, too, that these children's experience with group living would make them more than usually obedient grade-school pupils but ones who might look to their peers rather than to their teachers for help, approval, and satisfaction.

These hypothesized contrasts between care at home and in day-care center and their postulated effects on children are most applicable to middle-class children in residential neighborhoods. Many children in low-income families might not have the supposedly favorable home experiences even if they were to remain at home. For children from such homes the effects of day care might be considerably different; hence variation in income status should be taken into account in studies of the question.

Another factor to be considered is the variability in day-care centers in the kinds of experiences they afford children. The environment provided by a center is probably affected by its size and physical setting, the clientele it serves, its sponsorship, and the training and viewpoints of the director and staff. All these factors may contribute to the atmosphere that characterizes a center and that is likely to pervade all aspects of its policy, including discipline, communication, and program.

The physical setting of a center is important because it affects both the possible range of activities and the overall program. Number of children served may also have a potent effect on program. As the size of the center increases, more aspects of its operation must be regulated and more relationships and procedures must be formalized. In large centers, administrative duties inevitably take up much of the director's time; in consequence, it becomes more difficult for her to keep in close contact with the children or maintain an atmosphere of warmth.

The program and the emotional climate of a center may also be responsive to the demands and expectations of the parents of the children it serves. When parents expect nothing more than custodial

care and make no effort to establish close relations with center personnel, the program may tend to conform to their expectations. In contrast, when parents make it clearly known to the director that they want a rich program and emphasis on development of skills, the center may be pulled toward this type of program. Then, too, when the cultural and class background of the parents is similar to that of school personnel, parents may be more able to influence program, because of better communication and mutually shared goals.

Sponsorship may have an influence on program in various ways. One such relationship is the status position of the director vis-a-vis the parents. Commercial day-care centers are dependent on parents for financial support; hence their directors may be especially motivated to please parents and to adjust policies, programs, and communications to parental desires. In contrast, both private nonprofit and public day-care facilities often provide care at reduced rates or at rates adjusted to family income. These centers may therefore not be as concerned with pleasing parents but rather see themselves as benefactors of the families. Then, too, since many of the families they serve are of lower social status than the director, the equality of relationship found in most commercial centers may be less likely to characterize such centers.

There may also be ideological differences associated with sponsorship, although these are intangible and difficult to establish. Private commercial centers are apt to cater to a culturally homogeneous clientele; hence, director and parents are likely to share a common view as to traits that will be useful to the child when he becomes an adult. Nonprofit centers may have a commitment to an ideological viewpoint, usually religious, while staff in public day care must avoid strong bias in ideological commitment.

The personal qualities of the director is another factor making for variation among centers. When the director exercises administrative leadership and has an educational background that provides a meaningful philosophy of work and the skills to implement it, the influence of all other factors is affected. A director can influence parents and train teachers. Accordingly, an investigation that seeks to account for variations among day-care centers in their influence on the development of the children they serve must take this factor into account.

Not all of these factors could be adequately taken into account in a study of the kind that we conducted; one that was, essentially, a pilot investigation. On most of the points, however, we obtained some information, if only of an impressionistic sort. The findings to be reported here, accordingly, include this information, as well as a more detailed account of parent-teacher differences, which was the original focus of the investigation.

Study Plan

The study was chiefly concerned with answering the following three questions for a sample of day-care centers in one community, Los Angeles, at one point in time.

1. What alterations in child-rearing environment occur for children who are placed in group day care?

2. Is the extent of alteration greater for some children than for others because of their family background?

3. To what extent does marked change for a child depend upon the emotional climate of the day-care center he attends?

To answer these questions, several kinds of information from mothers and day-care staff were needed. We wanted, first, to know about their child-rearing practices. What standards of behavior did they expect of the children, and what methods did they customarily employ to obtain this behavior? We also wanted the mothers' opinions about the kind of child care that was provided by the centers, how much communication there was between mothers and day-care workers, and whether or not the mothers approved of the types of care that were being given. In addition, we gathered some information about the activities provided for the children at home and in the day-care settings, and some information about certain characteristics of the parents and about the emotional tone of the day-care centers.

Interview schedule

A number of schedules have been devised to measure child-rearing practices. We selected for our use an interview schedule developed by Robert Sears in his study of Boston mothers [2] because it appeared to be suitable for mothers of limited educational attainment and because its format of structured but open-end questions fitted the requirements of an exploratory study. A review of factorial studies of other instruments for measuring child-rearing patterns such as the Parental Attitude Research Instrument [3] or the Fels Parent Behavior

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[2] R. R. Sears, *et al., Patterns of Child Rearing.* (Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1957.)
[3] M. Zuckerman, *et al.*, "Normative Data and Factor Analysis on the PARI," *Journal of Consulting Psychology,* XXII (1958), pp. 165–171.

Rating Scale [4] indicated that the Sears schedule taps many similar dimensions of child-rearing behavior. Few changes in the Sears schedule were made in the questions about child-rearing practices. All questions regarding the child's infancy were deleted, however, and questions about day care and maternal employment were added.

A comparable interview schedule was developed for use with teachers, and another for use with the directors of day-care centers. The three schedules contained some questions which were asked of all respondents, but specific questions were asked of each group of respondents to elicit information which was pertinent only to that group.

The sample

Since we wanted to know whether the kind and amount of difference between home and day-care center was greater for some children than for others, the following traits were considered in selecting the users of day care: age and sex of the children, presence or absence of the father, social position of the family as indicated by socioeconomic status and ethnic background. These traits were controlled because of their possible influence on the mothers' child-rearing patterns or on the impact of day care on the children.

The selection of the day-care centers determined the choice of both mothers and day-care personnel who would be available for study. Since we wanted to select not only day-care users who met the criteria, but also day-care centers that represented the major types found in Los Angeles County, our problem was to locate the types of centers where the populations germane to our study could be found.

At the time of the study there were 396 day-care centers in Los Angeles County. They provided full-time day care for an estimated 15,500 children of working mothers.[5] These facilities were under three types of sponsorship: public, private nonprofit, and private commercial.

The public centers numbered 87. They were subsidized and supervised by the State Department of Education and were operated by the local school systems. Located on public school grounds, they were intended to serve primarily children 2 to 5 years old whose mothers were employed and whose fathers were absent from the home. They were open 12 hours a day. Fees were based on family income and ranged from 3 to 46 cents per hour of care.

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[4] M. Roff, "A Factorial Study of the Fels Parent Behavior Scale." *Child Development,* XX (1949), pp. 29–45.

[5] For more detailed information on the characteristics of day care, licensing requirements, qualifications of personnel, etc., see Betty Jones and Elizabeth Prescott, *Day Care and Nursery Education in Los Angeles County,* Research Dept., Welfare Planning Council, Los Angeles Region, 1964.

Nonprofit day-care centers in Los Angeles County numbered 38 at the time of the study. Most of these were sponsored by a church or community agency and were financed either by the Community Chest or by church funds. Such centers are licensed by the State Department of Social Welfare. Fees are usually charged on a sliding scale.

There were also in the county 271 private commercial day-care centers. These, too, are licensed by the State Department of Social Welfare. Some of these facilities provided either part-time or full-time day care for their clientele. Fees were $80 a month or less.

From these three types of centers a sample was chosen to represent Caucasian, Negro, and Mexican-American mothers of diverse socioeconomic levels. Since day-care centers characteristically draw children from geographic areas adjacent to them, with the result that they reflect the characteristics of the neighborhood which they serve, we decided to make the neighborhood our basic unit of selection. Six neighborhoods that had characteristics which fitted our sampling needs were chosen: one whose residents were chiefly low-income Mexican-Americans, a middle-class neighborhood with half of its population Negro, a low-class neighborhood that was 60 percent Negro, three Caucasian neighborhoods that were, respectively, lower class, middle class, and upper middle class, and a downtown nonresidential area.

Through discussions with the Institutional Licensing Unit of the State Department of Social Welfare, with the Director of Child Care Centers, Los Angeles City Board of Education, and through visits to centers in each of the selected neighborhoods to discuss enrollment, centers were chosen that served parents and children who met our sampling criteria and whose enrollment was at least fairly stable. A judgment sample of these was then drawn. Public day-care centers were selected first. Private full-day centers, matched with public centers for the neighborhood, were selected next. Private full-day centers, also matched for geographical area, were next chosen. Since the public facilities, because of their criteria for admission, draw primarily from one-parent, low-income families, the desired variation in socioeconomic status groupings had to be derived primarily from private facilities.

From the selected centers a purposive sample [6] of mothers was drawn according to the following criteria: Employment for a minimum of 35 hours a week; use of day care for either a child who was

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[6] "With good judgment and an appropriate strategy one can hand-pick the cases to be included in the sample and thus develop samples that are satisfactory in relation to one's needs. A common strategy of purposive sampling is to pick cases that are judged to be typical of the population in which one is interested, assuming that errors of judgment in the selection will tend to counterbalance each other." (Claire Selltiz, *et al., Research Methods in Social Relations* (New York: Henry Holt, 1960), pp. 520–521.

from 24 to 40 months old or for one who was from 51 to 66 months old.

From among 100 Caucasian and Negro mothers and 50 Mexican-American mothers who met these criteria a selection was then made with the intention of securing equal representation of younger and older boys and girls from one- and two-parent families. The socio-economic level of the families selected for study was not computed until after interviewing, but stratification along this line was assured by the method of neighborhood selection.

In addition to the day-care center and parent samples, a sample of teachers and directors was drawn. The selection of teachers was automatically determined by the choice of children, since only the teachers of children in the sample were interviewed. Similarly, directors were selected on the basis of inclusion of their schools in the sample, and all of these directors were interviewed.

The end result of this selection process was a sample of 30 day-care centers and their directors, 67 teachers, and 250 mothers. Twenty-two of the mothers either refused to be interviewed or could not make arrangements for an interview by the time of a third telephone call. Nine others were dropped after interviewing because they were found not to meet the established criteria.

The interview

After the families had been selected, the directors of the centers were asked to give each mother a letter that we provided, explaining the purpose of the study and requesting her cooperation. If the mother agreed to an interview, an appointment was arranged. All interviews were conducted in the mother's home; they lasted approximately 2½ hours. Teachers were interviewed at the centers, usually during the children's afternoon rest period. Interviews with directors also were conducted there. The teacher and director interviews required approximately 2 hours each.

In addition to the interviewing, observational notes were made during the visits to the schools. A selected group of schools was visited for each part of the program day, so that some estimate of the accuracy of teacher responses could be made, and the parents' behavior when leaving or picking up children could be observed.

The interviewers

Sixteen persons conducted the interviews with the mothers. Ten were college-educated mothers experienced in interviewing, and six were graduate students from the University of Southern California School of Social Work. In preparation for this work, interviewers attended a minimum of two training sessions, and each con-

ducted a preliminary test interview in the field. Teacher and director interviews were conducted by the four members of the project staff. Answers were recorded directly on the interview schedule. As a check upon reliability, each interviewer used a tape recorder for at least one interview. These recorded interviews were transcribed and checked against the written interview schedules.

The ethnicity of the interviewer was matched with that of the respondent. Thus, Spanish-speaking interviewers, using a translated interview schedule, were used for all Mexican-American respondents, Negro interviewers with Negro respondents, and Caucasian interviewers with Caucasian respondents.

All completed interview schedules were read by staff members and any discrepancies or inadequate answers were discussed with the interviewers. The interview schedules called not only for stated responses of respondents, but also for comments by the interviewer. In most instances, the interviewers indicated some appraisal of the respondents. These could be used as verification of impressions of the entire interview.

The socioeconomic status (SES) rating

A socioeconomic status rating was given to each family, based on information obtained in the interview. This rating was based on three points: Mother's education, mother's occupation, and total family income. To compute the SES score, mother's education and total family income were weighted equally; the mother's occupation was given double weight. On the basis of the scores obtained, mothers then were divided into four groups. The groups had the following characteristics:

SES I: All college graduates; income ranged from $6,500 up; 73 percent reported husband in the home.

SES II: 55 percent with some college or business training; income ranged from $5,000 to $6,500; 65 percent were living with child's father or stepfather.

SES III: 40 percent with some training after high school; 47 percent high school graduates; income ranged from $3,000 to $6,500; 50 percent were living with child's father or stepfather.

SES IV: 32 percent high school graduates; 37 percent had some high school; 20 percent had grade school education or less. Income was under $5,000; 22 percent reported yearly income under $3,000; 23 percent were living with child's father or stepfather.

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Each day-care center was also given a socioeconomic status rating, which was determined by the modal SES of the families using the center. For example, if the largest number of parents using the center were classified as SES III, the center was rated SES III. "High SES centers" were those which predominantly served mothers rated as SES I and II. "Low SES centers" were those which served mothers rated as SES III and IV.

Sample characteristics

A summary of the characteristics of the sample is presented in tables I and II.

Mothers' and Teachers' Expectations about Children's Behavior

In the course of the interviews the mothers and teachers were questioned about their standards for children's behavior (what sort of behavior they expected of them) and their practices with respect to securing this behavior. The topics that were covered are listed below. The following are examples of questions asked:

> What do you expect of _____ as far as neatness is concerned? How do you go about getting him (them) to do this? What do you do if he doesn't?
> What do you do if _____ uses words you don't like? How important do you feel it is to prevent this in a child?
> If _____ gets angry and deliberately breaks a toy or throws things, what do you do?
> Some people feel it is very important for a child to learn not to fight with other children, and others feel that there are times when a child has to fight. How do you feel about this? Have you ever encouraged _____ to fight back? What do you do when he hits a child who is not a member of your family?

The mothers' and teachers' replies on each topic were classified and compared, with the following summarized results.

Neatness

Parents were less likely than teachers to have high standards of neatness for the children. The parents who were most apt to

TABLE I

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SCHOOLS IN THE SAMPLE

Characteristics	Public day-care centers (N=10)	Commercial day-care centers (N=15)	Private non-profit centers (N= 5)	Total (N=30)
Neighborhood				
Mexican-American	2	0	0	2
Negro middle class	2	4	1	7
Negro lower class	2	0	0	2
Caucasian middle class	2	7	0	9
Caucasian lower class	2	4	0	6
Downtown non-residential	0	0	4	4
SES of School				
SES I	0	4	0	4
SES II	0	7	1	8
SES III	5	4	3	12
SES IV	5	0	1	6
Size of Enrollment				
Small (30 or less)	0	6	1	7
Medium (31 to 60)	7	6	3	16
Large (61 or more)	3	3	1	7
Total centers	10	15	5	30

TABLE II

CHARACTERISTICS OF MOTHERS AND CHILDREN IN SAMPLE

Characteristics	Children in public centers (N=86)	Children in private centers (N=133)	Total (N=219)
Family Structure			
One-parent	62	53	115
Two-parent	24	80	104
Age of Child			
Younger	38	49	87
Older	48	84	132
Ethnicity			
Caucasian	38	58	96
Negro	30	52	82
Mexican-American	18	23	41
Sex of Child			
Male	45	66	111
Female	41	67	108
SES of Mother			
I	1	21	22
II	8	23	31
III	34	58	92
IV	43	31	74

report high standards belonged to the two upper income groups. Of all the teachers, those in public day-care centers were the most apt to have high standards on this subject.

Care of property

Both parents and teachers had high standards for care of property. Teachers made slightly lower demands than parents, and teachers in schools that served parents in the higher income level were the least demanding of all respondents.

Noise

Teachers were less permissive about noise than were parents. Only 8 percent of the teachers in public centers and 14 percent of

those in private centers said that they had low standards in this regard. Nearly a third of the parents said they had little concern about noise level.

The amount of noise permitted, however, varied greatly with the socioeconomic status of the parents. Parents of high socioeconomic status were more likely to permit noise than parents of low income. Consequently, the parents who placed children in public day-care centers, where the standards were most strict, were themselves most likely to place high restrictions on noise at home.

Bad words

Parents were more concerned than teachers about the use of "bad words." Unfortunately, not all teachers were asked this question, but those who answered placed less importance on this behavior than did parents.

Table manners

Teachers had higher expectations of good table manners than parents. They usually expected children to use implements properly, to sit still, to avoid spilling food, and to remain at the table until excused. Both parents and teachers, however, were apt to say that, beyond reminding the children, they exerted little pressure for better manners.

Demands for eating

Except for parents in the top socioeconomic group, a fourth of whom were greatly concerned, most parents said they did not insist that children eat. Mexican-American mothers, in particular, were especially permissive. Teachers were more strict in this regard. Almost all the teachers in public day-care centers stated that they stressed eating, usually by insisting that children taste all food offered or forbidding or discouraging conversation at the table. Teachers in private day-care centers were less demanding in this respect than the others.

Modesty

Mothers and teachers were asked how they felt about children going without clothes indoors. All teachers said they insisted that children remain dressed but few expressed concern over children pulling down pants or removing clothing. Parents, too, were opposed to children running around naked and, more than teachers, they

thought removal of clothing should be prohibited. Parents of low socioeconomic status, whose children were apt to be in public day-care centers, where the least emphasis was placed on modesty, were the most apt to feel that modesty was important. Negro parents were especially strict in this regard.

"Sex play"

Parents were quite unlikely to permit or condone sexual explorations on the part of young children, such as going to the toilet together, giggling about sex differences, and the like, a fourth of the parents stating that this sort of play never occurred. Parental attitudes, however, varied by both socioeconomic status and ethnicity. Caucasian parents were the least concerned, Mexican-American the most; parents from the low socioeconomic level appeared to be much more concerned about this behavior than parents of higher income.

Teachers in public day-care centers, where children were most apt to toilet together under adult supervision, were least concerned about this matter. In private centers, where children more frequently toileted one at a time, teachers were more strict. In fact, these teachers were almost as strict as the parents who used their schools.

Masturbation

The same relationships were found in regard to masturbation. Policy in both public and private day-care centers was to treat masturbation casually, it being unusual for a teacher to call a child's attention to it. Usually teachers said they would distract the child without making him aware that this was what she was doing. Parents put more stress on prevention and were more apt to call the child's attention to his behavior.

Where babies come from

In response to the question of how they handle children's questions about where babies come from, a third of the public-center teachers and a fourth of the private-center teachers said that, in all their teaching experience, no child had ever asked. Most of the others said that they answered truthfully. The exceptions, a small percentage, reported that they told children that babies came from God or from hospitals. These latter answers were most apt to be given in centers under religious sponsorship or by teachers who had not gone beyond high school.

Most parents said they had no objection to teachers answering this question if their children asked, and a number added that a teacher

was much better qualified to give an appropriate answer. The one exception occurred in a center serving families of high economic status. Here the director insisted that parents deal with this question themselves. Many parents agreed with her policy.

Sex role

Parents and teachers differed in regard to expectations of the appropriate sex-role behavior for children of nursery-school age. We asked both parents and teachers how they felt about boys playing with dolls, and girls playing rough games. Teachers in public day-care centers almost unanimously agreed that doll play was appropriate behavior for both sexes. Among private day-care teachers, only 10 percent disapproved of this behavior. In contrast, about a third of the parents felt that such behavior was not appropriate for boys. Mexican-American mothers were most restrictive on this point. Lower class parents generally, especially those of Mexican-American extraction, also indicated with greater frequency that girls shouldn't play rough games.

Attitudes and practices in private day-care centers, especially those that serve higher income families, were rather similar to those of the mothers they served. This was not so true of the other centers.

Peer relationships

Most of the children had little opportunity at home or in their neighborhoods to play with children of their own age, for nearly nine out of ten of them were either only children or youngest children, and very few parents provided this sort of companionship for them.

In day-care centers it would be difficult for children consistently to avoid peer-group participation. In our observations in the centers it seemed that teachers felt most comfortable when the children were playing together, and that their attention was likely to be immediately directed to the child who was not engaged with other children.

Responses to our questions suggested that parents and teachers had different policies about having children share toys, etc., and also about ways of coping with disagreements about sharing. Parents were much more likely than teachers to insist on sharing. The range of solutions to children's disagreements employed by teachers was much wider than that reported by parents, chief emphasis being put on "taking turns."

To the extent that information was given, there was considerable variation among both parents and teachers in demanding self-defense by children. Parents were more likely to urge children to

defend themselves. Among teachers, those in private centers were somewhat more likely to favor self-defense than those in public centers. Parents in the higher income groups were more apt than parents of low income to consider self-defense important. However, parental expectations differed more sharply according to ethnicity than income. Caucasian parents were the most likely to favor self-defense, followed closely by Negro parents, while only 12 percent of Mexican-American parents reported favorably on this topic.

Asked about their methods of handling fighting among children, a third of the parents reported that fighting had not occurred. Among the others, those in the higher socioeconomic groups were somewhat less strict than those in the lower. Mexican-American mothers were especially likely to say that fighting among children had not occurred. These mothers also reported that aggression against peers was treated more severely when it occurred among older children than among younger children. This relation to age was not found among Caucasian and Negro parents.

Teachers' behavior toward aggression varied with the age of the child. Only a third of the teachers of younger children said that they were strict about fighting, compared with four-fifths of the teachers of older children.

Relations with adults

We asked a series of questions about children's aggressive behavior toward adults. The first question asked was whether the respondent thought children should be permitted to hit, scream, or shout angry words at adults. This answer was coded into three categories: (1) those who did not permit any aggression, either verbal or physical; (2) those who permitted some verbal aggression but no physical aggression; and (3) those who permitted both verbal and physical aggression.

Very few parents or teachers gave answers that fell into the third category. Almost all were divided between those who permitted some verbal aggression and those who did not permit any aggression. The majority (close to two-thirds of the teachers and half of the parents) said they did not permit any conduct of this sort. Teachers of younger children, however, were more permissive than teachers of older children. Differences in permissiveness according to the age of child were not found among parents.

The greatest differences among the parents occurred along ethnic and socioeconomic lines. Three out of four parents in the lowest socioeconomic group reported that they permitted no aggression toward adults whatsoever. This figure dropped to slightly above 40 percent in the two upper income groups. Negro mothers were most

likely to say that they permitted no aggression toward adults (78 percent.) Parents apparently punished children for aggressive behavior more severely than teachers.

Mothers and teachers were also asked how they responded to children's demands for attention and requests for help. The proportion that said they did not permit these sorts of dependency or permitted only to a slight extent was approximately the same for both parents and teachers and for both public and private centers—from 0 to 8 percent. If dependency was permitted at all, teachers were more likely to be moderately permissive, while parents were apt to be very permissive. Parents in the higher socioeconomic groups are much more apt to tolerate dependency than parents in the lower groups. There were no striking ethnic differences. Parents were likely to vary in their attitudes according to the age of the child, while teachers were slightly more likely to permit dependent behavior among young children.

While parents appeared to be more permissive of demands for attention, they were less apt than teachers to help a child if asked. Teachers reported that they almost never did something for a child that they felt he could do himself, but that if the child seemed to be in difficulty they would investigate this problem. Parents were much more likely to say that they would tell a child to do something himself without offering help. This was especially true of parents in the lowest socioeconomic group.

Parents were more likely than teachers to display physical affection, such as hugging, holding, etc. The greatest proportion of teachers who reported that they frequently showed affection in this way were found in schools that served children of high socioeconomic status. Teachers in public day-care centers reported less frequent show of affection. The teachers who reported the least frequent show of affection were those in private schools that served children from low-income families. There were no marked differences among parents according to socioeconomic status but there were differences according to ethnicity. A smaller proportion of Negro mothers than others reported this sort of affectionate behavior.

Assumption of responsibility by the child

We asked two questions about the assumption of personal responsibility by the child. The first concerned the mother's expectations for the child in the mornings: for instance was the child expected to dress himself? Expectations in this area were found to depend partly on the age of the child and partly on the morning schedule. When we observed children's arrival at the day-care center, we noted that in some of the centers where children were brought in be-

tween 6:30 and 7:00 o'clock, the children were scarcely awake and evidently had been dressed by their mothers, bundled up, and carried to the center. There was one noteworthy difference between parents in regard to morning help, however. Negro parents expected their children to be considerably more helpful than did Mexican-American mothers. Only a fifth of the Mexican-American mothers expected a child to dress himself or help in any way with breakfast, while nearly half of the Negro mothers expected some help of this sort.

A question that probably is more representative of the importance that parents place on personal responsibility was whether the child was encouraged to perform regular chores. We found no great differences among socioeconomic groups in this regard, but there were ethnic differences. The highest proportion of parents reporting favorably on this point was found in the Caucasian group (33 percent) and the least among Mexican-Americans (5 percent).

We did not ask a comparable question of the teachers, but our observations showed that children were expected to dress themselves, to straighten the covers on their cots, and to perform many small tasks throughout the day. In this particular context, however, these tasks were in the nature of an accepted part of a routine rather than a chore requiring initiative. On no occasion did we note a teacher remarking to a child that he was performing a job on his own.

Parents' values

The respondents were asked three questions about their more general value orientations. The first two questions inquired into the types of children they especially liked or disliked. The chief categories used to classify the answers were: high-spirited, self-reliant and independent; normal, happy, sociable, outgoing, warm; bright, intellectually curious; clean, well-mannered, obedient, well-disciplined. The chief disliked types were: undisciplined, spoiled, disrespectful; timid, shy, quiet; stubborn, whining, complaining, unaffectionate; aggressive, bullying, destructive.

Parents in the two lower income groups were apt to say that they preferred obedient children. Parents in the two upper groups preferred "normal, happy" children. A fourth of the teachers refused to express a preference, and there was no one type the others predominantly preferred.

Parents were in high agreement in disliking "undisciplined, spoiled, disrespectful" children, while a majority of the teachers maintained that they liked all kinds. Those teachers who did express opinions were most apt to dislike children who were "stubborn, whining, complaining, or unaffectionate."

Teachers were also asked what they considered their most im-

portant function. Over half replied that it was to meet the needs of young children; specifically, to help them feel happy, contented, and secure. This opinion characterized two-thirds of the teachers in the public day-care centers, and somewhat fewer in the others. A few teachers (especially in private centers serving the higher income level) said their chief function was to train the children in manners and rules, in preparation for entering school. Moral training was cited by one-fourth of the teachers in private schools serving low-income groups. Almost none viewed the job chiefly as custodial care.

Overall differences between parents and teachers

In general, the answers to our questions suggested that teachers were more demanding than parents in those areas of behavior that are important for maintaining order and the smooth functioning of routine. As a group, they had higher standards for neatness and table manners, were more restrictive with regard to noise, and placed more emphasis on care of property. Parents, on the other hand, had higher standards in those areas of behavior that had moral connotations. They were apt to consider it important to prevent the use of bad words; they tended to disapprove of aggression against adults. They were more likely to insist on proper sex-role behavior and to consider prevention of masturbation important.

Teachers had lower expectations for younger than for older children. Parents, however, reported few differences in expectations according to age of child.

The areas of behavior in which teachers are more strict highlight the difference between a home and a group setting. A low noise level, order, and neatness all contribute to a teacher's ability to control a group. While these attributes might also increase a mother's comfort, they are not so important when dealing with only one child, and the trouble of obtaining the desired behavior may offset other advantages.

The teachers' greater familiarity both with many types of children and with some of the recent trends in child development may explain their greater permissiveness toward sexual interests and other types of behavior that might have moral connotations. Their permissiveness about sexual curiosity may have provided the large number of only children an opportunity to obtain first-hand information about anatomical differences between boys and girls. In the public centers especially, group toileting was handled most casually. Teachers seemed freer in answering questions posed by the children about anatomical differences than those about the origin of babies. At an age at which many children are interested in playing both male and

female roles, the centers probably gave them opportunities the children would not have had at home.

Differences by socioeconomic status

Parents of low economic status tended to be stricter than other parents on all items except neatness and table manners, self-defense, and eating. The areas of greatest difference between low- and high-income parents were those concerning noise, bad words, sexual play, aggression toward both peers and adults, and independence and self-sufficiency.

On the whole, parents of low income had higher expectations of mature behavior than did those in higher socioeconomic groups. They were less permissive of aggression, sexual play, and dependency, which may suggest that parents of higher income are more likely to value initiative. This seems further indicated by the preference that low-income parents expressed for obedient children.

With regard to manners, neatness, and care of property, teachers in centers serving the higher income families had lower expectations than the parents whom they served. They were more strict, however, regarding noise and peer aggression.

Teachers in low-income centers were more permissive than those in the others. They had much lower expectations in almost all areas of behavior except modesty and "sex play." But teachers in these centers were less likely than the others to show affection for individual children.

The children most likely to encounter differences in parents' and teachers' expectations were those in the lowest socioeconomic group, particularly children of Mexican-American background. In day-care centers, these children were apt to find higher standards for neatness, table behavior, and care of property than they experienced at home. They may also have encountered in day care their first experience with demands that they eat certain types of food. On the other hand, their teachers were more permissive than their parents regarding modesty and regarding doll-play for boys. They were also apt to permit aggression and self-assertion, both toward other children and toward adults, than was countenanced by the children's parents.

Differences among schools by sponsorship

In all areas, centers under public sponsorship appeared to have higher expectations for mature behavior than did private centers. Teachers in public centers were less likely to report encouragement of self-defense; they were apparently somewhat more strict about

aggression toward adults and more likely to punish such behavior, and they made higher demands for independence.

Along every dimension, the nonprofit private centers appeared to be more permissive than either the public or the commercial centers. In the private centers generally, the range of expectations from very low to very high was greater than in public centers, where extreme variation among teachers was seldom found. The most marked difference among private centers was in the amount of overt affection displayed; this appeared to be consistently higher in the private centers serving high-income families than in those serving families whose income was low.

Mothers' and Teachers' Methods of Discipline

Knowledge of child-rearing expectations is incomplete without information on the ways in which these expectations are achieved. Our respondents were asked nine questions about their disciplinary practices in specific areas of behavior: Neatness, self-control, table behavior, care of school or home property, tantrums, fighting, aggressiveness toward adults, deliberate disobedience, and slow or uncooperative behavior.

Disciplinary methods were then divided into two subgroups: training and enforcement. Training methods were defined as verbal techniques: those used to clarify for the child the type of behavior expected of him. These methods included reasoning, reminding, labeling, redirecting, setting an example, scolding, and threatening. Procedures that involved some physical action or restriction were categorized as enforcement methods. Among these methods were isolation, deprivation of privileges, slapping, spanking, retribution (giving punishment in kind), rectification (requiring child to correct his mistake), and restraint (holding child or "benching" him).

These methods were grouped for analytical purposes into five categories that describe the intent of the chosen technique.[7] The categories were: (1) Clarification, which includes labeling behavior, reminding, or telling the child; (2) objective methods that aim at changing the child's course of action without resorting to punitive measures (included here were explanation, redirection, showing the child how to rectify his mistake, and use of examples); (3) restriction, which im-

[7] See Miller, Daniel R., and Guy E. Swanson, *Inner Conflict and Defense*, Henry Holt, 1960.

plies restraint of the child by holding him, benching him, or taking away privileges; (4) isolation, which is defined as removing the child from the company of the adult and other children; and (5) punitive methods, which include spanking, slapping, scolding, or threatening.

Choice of methods

Methods of discipline were found to vary according to setting (home or school) and age of the child. Nearly half of the parents reported reliance on methods we classified as punitive, while about two-thirds of the teachers relied on "objective" methods or "restriction." The latter method was reported by few parents. The other methods were used about equally by parents and teachers. Almost no difference among private or public centers appeared.

There were no noticeable differences in the choice of methods reported by parents of younger and older children. Teachers, however, reported differences according to age of the child. Teachers of younger children used isolation as an enforcement technique more often than teachers of older children. There was also a difference between the ratio of training and enforcement methods as used with younger and older children. The direction of this ratio did not hold true for parents. Parents of younger children reported a slight excess of training over enforcement methods, but they reported even greater use of training methods with older children.

There were few differences in choice of methods between teachers who worked with children of low socioeconomic status and those who worked with high-income children, although centers which served the latter children indicated much more use of restriction. Since, however, the percentage of older children was much greater in private, high-income centers than in the others, the difference is largely explainable on the basis of age alone.

The choice of disciplinary methods varied with the socioeconomic status of the parents. A larger proportion of parents in SES I and II said they used verbal methods and a smaller number used punitive methods than did parents in SES III and IV.

Within disciplinary methods, the choice of spanking as the preferred enforcement method appeared to depend more heavily upon ethnicity than upon socioeconomic status. Two-thirds of the Negro mothers who used any enforcement methods chose spanking, as opposed to half of the Mexican-American mothers and about 40 percent of the Caucasian mothers. Parents and teachers differed in frequency of use of training and enforcement methods for specific areas of behavior inquired about. In six of these nine areas, teachers were apt to use training methods. In most areas, teachers used enforcement methods with about the same frequency as the parents. The two exceptions

were in regard to neatness and to deliberate disobedience, where the parents outdistanced the teachers.

Teachers most frequently used an enforcement method when a child was "out of hand" or having temper tantrums, while parents were most likely to use some enforcement method when a child was deliberately disobedient, abused property, or used bad words. The one exception to this was found among low-income Negro mothers. They used physical techniques to control out-of-hand behavior more frequently than to control deliberate disobedience. The greatest difference between parents and teachers in the use of enforcement methods was found in the area of neatness, with over half of all parents reporting use of enforcement methods as contrasted with about one-fourth of the teachers.

Disciplinary expectations

Parents and teachers also differed regarding the point at which they felt disciplinary action was required and in the consistency with which it was applied.

Parents expected children to obey more quickly than did teachers. Teachers in both public and private centers expected and wanted the children to obey, but they did not expect that they would do so immediately. Teachers in centers serving low-income children had the lowest standards for immediate obedience, and teachers of younger children were also much more lenient in this regard.

Parents differed in expectations of obedience depending on their socioeconomic status. Parents in the higher groups expected immediate obedience less frequently than those in the lower groups. Caucasian parents were most frequently found to have low standards of obedience, while Negro and Mexican-American parents both tended to report high standards.

An important aspect of discipline is the degree of consistency with which disciplinary methods are applied. We asked our respondents how often they told a child they would punish him and then failed to follow through. Teachers as a group reported greater consistency than parents. Teachers in private nonprofit day-care centers serving low-income children were more likely than the others to say they were not always consistent. High consistency was reported most frequently by low-income parents. The others reported considerable lack of consistency.

Desired behavior is obtained not only by methods that teach the child what he should not do but by positive incentives that reward behavior the adult wants to encourage. We found that, according to their reports, both parents and teachers were liberal in their use of praise. The degree to which praise was used did not differ signifi-

cantly by social factors, with one exception: Mexican-American parents were less likely than other groups to use praise as an incentive.

Tangible rewards were seldom reported; both parents and teachers seemed to feel that these were a form of bribery. If used, teachers were apt to confine rewards to older children. These frequently were in the form of a special treat to a group or, occasionally, special privileges to a child. These privileges were likely to be permission to be first in line or to choose the special activity of the day.

Parents in the highest income group were most likely to use rewards; about a fifth of them reporting that they used rewards regularly. Teachers who used rewards were also most apt to be found in centers serving such families. A fourth of these teachers reported the frequent use of rewards, compared to 8 percent in the low-income private centers and 4 percent in the public centers.

Few teachers reported the use of different methods of discipline according to the sex of the child. Teachers who did make such a distinction were most apt to be found in centers under religious sponsorship. Mexican-American parents were most apt to report differences according to sex of child.

No questions were asked about the relative frequency of punishment for specific types of behavior. However, our observations in day-care centers indicated that children were most frequently disciplined for nonconformity to prescribed activities and/or routines and for excessive noise or other behavior that might be distracting to the group. We would guess that children are most frequently disciplined at home for behavior which is disturbing to adults or destructive to property.

Summary

Responses to our questions suggest that there are marked differences between parents and teachers in disciplinary practices. Parents more frequently than teachers used methods we classified as punitive, while teaches reported more frequent use of objective methods. Teachers chose restriction rather than spanking as their primary method of enforcement. They were apparently also more consistent in their enforcement of discipline.

Parents showed few modifications in their disciplinary approach based on age of the child, whereas teachers more frequently used explanations with older children and had lower standards of obedience for younger children. From these differences one might conclude that the degree of control in day-care centers is higher and more consistent than that found in the home, and that teachers are more objective than parents in the administration of discipline.

Emotional Climate of the Day-Care Centers

From observations in day-care centers we were impressed with differences in what might be termed emotional climate. In some centers there was a great deal of activity without obvious direction; in other centers the teachers quite obviously were directing but the atmosphere was comfortable and cooperative. Some schools gave the impression of heavy emphasis on rules; in others rules seemed vague and lacking in character.

In our early observations we were first aware of differences among centers in "warmth." In some centers the staff seemed to be especially friendly and responsive to the children. We then began to note that there were other differences, regardless of whether the teachers seemed "warm" or "cold." For instance, the style of leadership could differ. In some centers children were encouraged or permitted to act on their own initiative and even to contribute their ideas, while in others the adults seemed to direct all activities and rebuke children who proposed alterations.

Observation also convinced us of the important role that the director plays in the life of a center. To be sure, the children, teachers, and physical setting all contributed their part, but it was the director who seemed to give coherence and form to the center. It is, of course, the director who sets the rules and policies. The content of these rules and policies and the ways in which the director puts them into practice appear to set the stage for the type of interaction that occurs between teachers and children.

Since the role that the director assumed appeared to be closely related to the variations that were observed in emotional climate, we looked for possible connections between the views expressed by directors and the adult-child relationships that characterized the centers' activities. We found that in centers that seemed, on observation, to be fairly similar in emotional tone, the directors gave fairly similar answers to questions about permissiveness for dependency and affection, and about adult-child authority relationships. Accordingly, we developed a typology for the purpose of classifying the emotional climate of the day-care centers. It was based on directors' answers to the following questions:

1. How do you recommend that teachers handle it when a child sticks close and demands attention? Why do you think a child does this?

2. What instructions do you give to teachers about physical displays of affection?

3. **Sometimes a child will get angry at his mother or teacher and hit or kick her or shout angry things at her. How much of this sort of thing do you think adults ought to allow in a child of nursery age?**

The procedure for rating responses to these questions was this: (1) Answers to the first two questions were considered together. Amount of affection was coded on a 3-point scale and permissiveness for dependency on a 5-point scale, with 1 being the low point. The resulting numbers were added, giving a possible range in scores from a low of 2 to a high of 8. (2) The third question, on child-adult authority relationship, was coded on a 3-point scale from low to high. Since no director stated that she was completely permissive in this regard, the directors were divided into two categories—those who stated that they permitted some verbal aggression on the part of children, and those who permitted none.

On the basis of combinations of the two sets of scores, the centers were divided into the following four categories:

GROUP A. Directors of these centers received a score of 5 or higher on a combination of affection and dependency, and reported that they permitted some verbal aggression toward adults. These centers were labelled "warm-nonauthoritative." In them there was considerable adult-child interaction. The program tended to be somewhat flexible and attempts were made to take account of children's desires (11 centers).

GROUP B. Directors of these centers also scored 5 or higher on a combination of affection and dependency, but reported that they permitted no aggression toward adults. In these "warm-authoritative" centers the adults tended to initiate activities and to instruct children on procedures for carrying them out and left little to children's initiative (6 centers).

GROUP C. Directors scored 4 on a combination of dependency and affection responses (which means that they were moderately low in this regard) and permitted some aggression toward adults. These "cold-nonauthoratitive" centers might best be termed custodial. Adults were remote from children and the program was usually highly routinized. When teachers presented materials, they characteristically made them available but gave children little stimulation or direction as to their use (4 centers).

GROUP D. Directors scored 3 or less on dependency and affection responses, and permitted no aggression toward adults. These "cold-

authoritative" centers were also characterized by a remote adult-child relationship and by a highly structured program. Activities were almost completely initiated by the adults. These centers typically were very orderly, sometimes immaculate, and often had quite elaborate physical facilities (6 centers).

There were only three centers that did not fit this typology. Two of these were private centers that served children from families of high socioeconomic status. One of these emphasized high academic performance. We felt it should belong with the group D centers but the director reported a high permissiveness for dependency. Another center was headed by a male director; according to his answers, it would have been classified in the group D centers. Our observations, however, indicated that the school was apparently much warmer than his answers would suggest. The third, a public center, would have been placed among the group C centers, but limited observational data did not support the classification. We decided, therefore, not to classify this center.

The division of 27 centers into 4 groups results in so small a number in each group that the general applicability of the classication scheme can be determined only by a larger study. The typology does, however, describe two important dimensions of adult attitudes in day-care centers: warmth and control.

The dimension labeled "warm-cold" was used for the convenience of the reader and should not be taken as a definition. Perhaps the terms "distant" or "remote" might better describe the "cold centers. *Teachers in these centers were not* especially punitive toward the children but they gave the impression of being less receptive or less responsive to behavioral signals given by the children than were the teachers in the centers labeled "warm."

The chief difference between "warm" and "cold" centers lay in the teachers' degree of willingness to accept behavior as it occurred. In the "cold" centers (C and D) teachers more often appeared to act on the premise that undesirable behavior should not have occurred and that the child was wrong in allowing it to happen. Teachers in "warm" (A and B) centers appeared more willing to accept the fact that while children do many things that must be stopped or redirected, children are not doing wrong and the wishes that lie behind the behavior may be legitimate ones.

The authoritative-nonauthoritative dimension refers to the type and amount of direction that the directors said adults should give to children's activties. Centers classified as authoritative appeared to have goals that were relatively predetermined and mapped out, while in nonauthoritative centers, the goals seemed to be more loosely formu-

lated and greater freedom was given for children to shape their own goals. In some respects this dimension appeared to reflect the adults' willingness to take short cuts. Authoritative direction assumes that rules exist for good reason and children must learn to accept them. It is not necessary that they like or understand how the rules came into being; they must obey them. Nonauthoritative direction appears to allow the child more time for experimentation, since it is expected that, ideally, the child should accept and believe in the rule that he obeys.

Perhaps the best way to clarify these dimensions is to consider how a disagreement between two children over a toy would be handled in each of the four types of centers. In the warm-nonauthoritative centers (group A), the teacher would permit the disagreement to continue until she became convinced that the children could not solve it. Then she would intervene by asking questions and making suggestions until the children agreed upon a solution. In the group B centers (warm-authoritative), the teacher would intercede sooner and would take more initiative in solving the problem. She might remind the children of the rules of sharing or the consequences of fighting, making clear that these are adult rules with which children must cooperate. In group C centers (cold-nonauthoritative), the teacher would not intercede until necessary. Then she might isolate a child or remove the toy. In group D centers, the argument would be stopped as soon as it was noticed by the teacher.

Several characteristics of the dimensions can be observed here. The greatest amount of explanation and adult intervention occurred in the warm-authoritative centers, where the teachers talked and explained until they convinced the children and secured their acceptance to a solution. The smallest amount of adult participation was found in the cold-authoritative centers, where the teachers stopped arguments before they developed and, therefore, no solution was required. In the nonauthoritative centers, and teachers were slowest to intervene; in these centers the teachers did not use their direct authority to stop ongoing behavior. In the "warm" centers, the teachers stayed with the children until they found a solution, while in the "cold" centers, the teachers interceded only to banish the children who took the argument out of bounds. Note also that in both types of "warm" schools, the fact of disagreement was first accepted by the teachers and then resolved. In the "cold" centers, disagreements were not permitted; hence the children did not have an opportunity to find a solution to their problems.

To follow this typology based on director's statements implies, however, more water-tight distinctions among centers than existed in fact. One indication of deviation among centers of a given type was seen in the fact that teachers did not always share their directors' viewpoints. The extent of the divergence was measured by rating the

teachers in the same way we had rated the directors: that is, on their answers to the three questions listed above.

Analysis of the figures shows that close to 90 percent of the teachers in the centers classified as "warm" were themselves classified in that way. In the "cold" centers, however, the teachers were about evenly divided between those rated warm and those rated cold. In other words, teachers were predominantly of the warm type, only about a fourth of them giving answers to the questions that led to a rating of cold.

On the authoritative dimension, however, the situation was quite different. Teachers were about evenly divided between authoritative and nonauthoritative ratings, and the two types of teachers were about evenly distributed among the centers regardless of their ratings.

The consistency between teachers and directors in these ratings was somewhat related to both the size and sponsorship of a center. Small private commercial centers in which the director had daily contact with the children were most likely to have a high degree of consistency in outlook between teachers and director. Conversely, the centers that tended to show the greatest inconsistency were the large public centers, the nonprofit private centers under religious sponsorship, and the commercial nursery centers in which the director did not have daily contact with the children. Larger centers, of course, have more teachers, and their teachers usually have less continuous contact with directors than in small centers, so there is a much greater opportunity for lack of consistency.

Since our study was a preliminary one, no attempt was made to take these teacher ratings into account. The fact that there was considerable inconsistency between directors and teachers may, however, have reduced the relationships between characteristics that are reported in the following section.

Differences among Centers Related to Emotional Climate

After the centers were classified in this way, the verious types were compared in order to determine whether and to what extent they differed in other respects also. Among the traits considered were the centers' personnel, the teachers' standards for children's behavior and their disciplinary methods; the daily programs of activities; the amount and subject matter of communications between parents, chil-

dren, and staff; and the economic and cultural characteristics of the centers' clientele.

Educational attainment of center personnel

The directors of the centers in our sample were about evenly divided between college graduates (with or without additional training) and those who had attended college but had not graduated. In only two centers had the directors' schooling ended with high school graduation.

There was some association between the amount of a director's education and the income level of the majority of children in the center she headed. Three-fourths of the centers (all private) that primarily served children from the higher income levels were directed by college graduates, as contrasted with one-fourth of the public centers and one-third of the private centers serving children from low-income families.

In contrast, the teachers in the public centers were somewhat more likely to be better educated than those in the private centers. Three-fourths of the teachers in the former had attended college and the rest were college graduates, as contrasted with about two-thirds of the teachers in the latter sort of centers.

When the staffs' education and the emotional climate of the centers was compared, it was found that three-fourths of the directors who had at least three years of college had "warm" centers, while all the directors who had less than that amount of education had centers that were classified as cold. No relation between education of the director and the "authority" rating of a center appeared, however.

As to teachers' education, the warm centers were the ones most likely to have teachers who had not attended college. Although even in these centers such teachers constituted a minority. Similarly, the centers with higher "authority" ratings were more likely than the others to have teachers who had graduated from college.

Teachers' expectations of children; their disciplinary methods

If the centers were correctly classified, one would expect to find that the "warm" centers were more permissive and made less demand for mature behavior, while the "cold" centers would be expected to be more strict and to demand more of the children in terms of maturity. It would also be expected that in nonauthoritative centers the staff would expect the children to take more responsibility for their behavior and would less often take it upon themselves to rule out certain behavior.

This did indeed appear to be the case. The cold centers had higher expectations for care of property, neatness (type D centers only), table manners, and conformity in eating. In them, too, the teachers were less apt to permit either aggression toward adults or much dependency. Among these cold centers, those classified as authoritative were more strict than those classified as nonauthoritative.

Then, too, in teachers' expectations for children to defend themselves a difference among centers was found. Since children in nonauthoritative (types A and C) centers were expected to show initiative, it was logical that teachers in these schools should place more emphasis on self-defense. In the authoritative (types B and D) centers, where there were more adult rules and precedents defining rights, self-defense was less expected or permitted. The lowest level of demand for self-defense was found in the cold-authoritative (type D) centers.

Centers also differed in their use of "training" versus "enforcement" methods of discipline. Teachers in warm-authoritative centers showed the greatest use of training methods, while those in cold-authoritative centers showed the greatest use of enforcement methods. Teachers in nonauthoritative (A and C) centers showed lower ratios of training to enforcement methods than did those in the warm-authoritative centers.

Other disciplinary measures also appeared to vary with the climate of the centers. In nonauthoritative centers (A and C), where control was apt to be indirect, the use of praise was related to the warmth of the center. Not much over a third of the teachers in the warm, Group A centers, reported frequent use of praise. Teachers in these schools frequently reported that they considered too much praise a form of bribery and that it interfered with a child's ability to learn for himself. In contrast, three-fourths of the teachers in the cold, Type C centers, reported frequent use of praise. These teachers commented with great conviction that children need praise.

In authoritative centers in contrast, where teachers assumed greater responsibility for regulating behavior, it was the extent of the teachers' demands for immediate obedience, rather than their use of praise, that was affected by the degree of warmth. Teachers in centers classified as warm were less apt than those in cold centers to stress quick obedience to requests. Demands for immediate obedience were less frequent in the warm than in the cold-authoritative centers.

There were also differences among centers in the choice of enforcement methods. A few more teachers in cold centers than in warm centers used "benching." "Benching" is most apt to be used to stop a child's activity until he can regain self-control; this disciplinary action has less of the element of punishment than has either isolation or deprivation of privileges. Teachers in type C centers (cold-nonauthoritative) were more apt to use isolation, while the proportion of

teachers using deprivation of privileges was greatest in type D (cold-authoritative) centers. It was noted, too, that somewhat more teachers in the warm-authoritative centers reported use of "benching" than did those in either type of nonauthoritative centers.

Clientele of the centers

Comparison of the centers on the basis of the predominating economic level of the families they served showed no type C centers (cold-nonauthoritative) catering chiefly to children from families in the upper two income levels. All of the centers whose clientele were largely low-income families were classified as A or C; that is, as being nonauthoritative.

A greater difference among types of centers appeared in the ethnic distribution of the children they served. Over two-thirds of the Negro parents had their children in type A centers (warm-nonauthoritative) and virtually no Mexican-American mothers had children in the type D centers (cold-authoritative). Caucasian children were evenly distributed among center types.

These differences among the types of centers in the social characteristics of their clientele had the effect of increasing, for many children, the possible discrepancy between home and center. A comparison along this line was made by rating the emotional clientele in the homes on the basis of the mothers' answers to the questions that furnished the basis for rating the centers. On this basis over a third of the homes were rated cold and the rest warm, and about three-fourths were rated authoritative.

A comparison of homes and centers with respect to warmth showed that about a fourth of the children from warm homes were placed in centers rated cold, and a bit under half of the children from cold homes were in cold centers. With respect to authoritativeness, greater differences appeared. For the most part, mothers who were categorized as authoritative placed their children in nonauthoritative centers, and many nonauthoritative mothers placed their children in authoritative centers. Similarly, many parents who made the least demands on children for independence were found to have placed their children in cold centers, where demands for independence were high. A partial explanation of these findings lay in the fact that a large proportion of Negro mothers and of low-income mothers had little choice of centers in which to place their children.

Of all the children, those in type C (cold-nonauthoritative) centers appeared to have experienced the greatest amount of change in moving from home to day care. The mothers of these children were apt to be authoritative, to encourage dependency, and to use praise and affection less frequently than other mothers. In the type C centers

their children were in nonauthoritative settings, where, as at home, affection was seldom overtly displayed and where high demands for independence were made. This combination of child-rearing patterns in a setting characterized by lack of positive goals may explain the opinion of some teachers that praise was extremely important to these children.

Programs of activities

One might expect, too, that the daily programs of the centers would differ in accordance with the emotional climate. For instance, since teachers in warm-authoritative centers expect children to show greater initiative and to assume greater responsibility for their behavior, they might be expected to think that children need a wide variety of experience. Conversely, in cold-authoritative centers, teachers might view undirected activity as an invitation to chaos. This viewpoint would lead one to expect that groups A and D centers would have the most varied programs, but that the program would be highly structured in group D centers.

Our study plan did not allow for a detailed examination of the programs of activities in the centers. The information that we received from directors and teachers, however, gave some picture of differences that suggest that significant findings would follow from more extensive observation.

Directors were asked about variety in program and scheduling of activities. A program was considered unscheduled if day-care personnel did not plan or participate in daily activities. Free play was the primary activity in such centers. A program was considered highly scheduled if the entire day was mapped out ahead of time, if there was little opportunity for changes in activities or for improvisation by children.

Variety in program was found to be partially dependent on availability of equipment and supplies. All public and nonprofit facilities (which included all type C centers) possessed such standard equipment as large blocks and a "doll-corner." Some commercial facilities had little equipment, while other commercial centers had equipment, supplies, and ideas superior to most public or nonprofit facilities. A wide variety in program was most apt to be found in group A centers (warm-nonauthoritative). Group D (cold-authoritative) centers frequently had elaborate equipment and, though their programs were usually highly structured, some of these schools did provide considerable variety in activities.

The only two centers classified as having programs of little variety were small centers that relied primarily on free play. Free play in these two centers was genuinely free; it approximated that

of a neighborhood play group, where children get together each day for their own improvised activities.

Only three centers were unscheduled in their daily activities, and only four were highly scheduled. The rest (20) were a combination: scheduling of some activities and a considerable amount of free time allowed. One highly scheduled center was rated warm in emotional climate, and the others cold.

Communications between parents and staff

The centers also varied in the amount of contact they had with the parents of the children they served. Information on this point was secured by questioning the mothers as to whether and under what circumstances they visited the centers.

The amount of visiting was found to depend both on the socioeconomic level of the parents and on the emotional climate of the centers. The higher the SES level, the greater the probability that a mother visited the center her child attended. Only about a tenth of the mothers in the two upper income categories had never visited the center their children attended, as compared with a third of those in the lowest income category. When those who visited more often than only at the time of enrollment were excluded, this difference among economic levels disappeared, however.

Mothers were a bit less apt to visit cold centers than warm centers. The proportion that visited beyond the time when enrollment took place varied from about a half in type D (cold-authoritative) centers to nearly two-thirds in type A (warm-nonauthoritative).

We also asked mothers what type of contact they had had with teachers. About a fifth said they had not talked with them at all, and about a half said their discussions were about child-care matters or about the children's adjustment to the center's routine. Mothers with children in authoritative centers were most apt to discuss eating, sleeping, and other routine matters, while in nonauthoritative centers a considerable proportion reported discussing other matters, such as their children's emotional difficulties.

Directors were asked whether their teachers were encouraged or permitted to discuss a child's behavior with his parents. Only about a fourth of the directors placed no restrictions on the teachers, and about half said discussion was either not permitted or permitted only with their express approval. The rest told teachers to restrict conversation with parents to casual matters and to refer problems to themselves to handle. Many experienced directors find that extended parent-teacher conversations are impractical because of conflict with their responsibility for supervision of children; some consider them undesirable. In authoritative centers the directors were more likely

to forbid parent-teacher conversation than to restrict it, a policy more common in the nonauthoritative centers

We also asked directors what they discussed with parents. Their answers were coded into three categories: Discussion of custodial matters only, such as the child's eating and sleeping habits; discipline only; and matters with emotional content, such as personality problems of children or personal problems of parents.

Definite differences among directors appeared, and these were related to the centers' climate. Most of the directors of type A (warm-nonauthoritative) centers said they dealt with the emotional well-being of the children or families, while most of the directors of type D (cold-authoritative) centers said they usually discussed only the physical aspects of the children's school activities. The directors of the other centers were rather evenly distributed in their responses to this question.

Adult child communication

Both parents and teachers were asked to describe the content of their conversations with the children. The most common response of mothers was that they discussed daily activities and sometimes special events. Some parents and teachers, however, reported that they also discussed the children's worries, their curiosity about the world, and other matters that suggested more depth in the adult-child relationship.

The factor that seemed to have the greatest effect on the content of mother-child communication was socioeconomic status. Parents in the higher socioeconomic groups had a wider range of conversational topics, and were definitely more apt to discuss worries and fears.

A reversal of this pattern was noted in the centers: the children's worries and fears were most apt to be discussed in private centers serving low-income children. The centers' climate rating did not affect the subject matter discussed.

There were differences among types of centers in the amount of personal contact the directors and the teachers had with the children. Directors of the centers rated warm reported more frequent contact with children than directors of centers classified as cold. There was also a tendency for directors of small centers to spend more time with the children, but exceptions, usually associated with school climate, were also noted here.

Some of the differences among directors may have stemmed from their conception of their role. Asked what they thought was their most important function as director of a day-care center, most directors of warm centers placed the greatest importance on relations

with children, parents, and teachers, while directors of cold centers were mainly concerned with supervision of staff or operational efficiency.

Teachers were asked under what circumstances children might talk individually with them. Only eight (15 percent) said they had a special time for talking. Six of these teachers were in warm centers. Some teachers said that one of the best times for talking with a child was during the time spent in the play yard. This was particularly true in schools that did not have the rule that teachers must remain standing at all times. Some centers consider this rule a safety precaution, but adherence to the requirement appeared to diminish the chances for personal conversation between children and teachers.

Some Comments in Conclusion

In undertaking this study we postulated that placement in group day care provides many opportunities to learn social skills and other forms of behavior that are helpful both in a later school setting and in the society at large, but that opportunities to perfect and increase verbal skills, to express individual initiative and thus to develop motivations for achievement may be more limited. The study was designed, however, not to test this hypothesis but to devise ways of measuring certain variables that were expected to be associated with children's reaction to day care and so to influence its effects.

We found marked similarities among mothers and day-care personnel in their child-rearing goals. Nearly all respondents expressed the wish that children be well-mannered and develop proper respect for social rules and conventions. Their differences centered on attitudes toward timing and expectations concerning initiative. Some respondents expected and were more willing than others to tolerate deviations from the behavior which they hoped eventually to achieve in the child. In most instances, it was these same respondents who expected children to show initiative and curiosity and who said that these qualities would be of value to the child in adulthood. Other respondents described their standards for behavior as being higher and their expectations for conformity more immediate. These differences appeared to be related to basic attitudes and outlook.

It appeared, however, that the regulatory features of some settings may prevent adults from behaving in accordance with professed attitudes. Discrepancies were noted between attitudes and behavior of teachers who emphasized the importance of initiative

but found themselves in settings which facilitated behavioral conformity and discouraged individualization of care. A sizable number of teachers felt that preschool children should remain at home. This seemed to indicate an awareness of a discrepency between the care which is given and that which they considered ideal.

In spite of the similarities between parents' and teachers' opinions and actions, we also found that, in moving from home to a day-care center, most children did experience considerable change in the demands made on them and in the methods used by adults in obtaining their compliance. Moreover, these demands and disciplinary methods varied from one type of center to another and—perhaps even more significantly—in their probable impact on children depending on their families' ethnic and income status.

The nature and extent of these changes were the primary focus of the study. As the investigations progressed it became apparent, however, that a more important factor to be considered in assessing the outcome of group day care is that of differences between homes and centers that are inherent in their purposes, physical attributes, and number and kinds of persons involved in their activities.

The possible nature of some of these differences and their hypothesized effects have been described at length in the introductory section of this report. Here we would note one additional element to which particular attention should be paid in future studies—the personal qualities of the day-center's director.

While we have said little about the subject in this report, our overall impression, from interviews and observations, is that the director's role is vital. When she (or he) has a strong personality, exercises administrative leadership, and has had the sort of education that provides a meaningful philosophy of work and the skills to implement it, the influence of all other factors is altered. While the setting, the expectations, and the family background of the mother, together with the abilities and personality of the teachers all influence day-care climate, the one factor that appears to be most influential is the ability of the director, since she is often capable of altering the setting, influencing the parents, and training the teachers.

A final comment arising out of the observations of the study has to do with day-care standards. When the practices noted in the centers we studied are compared with the standards that have been proposed for day-care service, marked differences between practice and standards appear in certain areas. The physical facilities and the physical care provided by almost all centers came at least near to meeting the standards prescribed in 1960 by the Child Welfare League of America. The discrepancy between standards and practice in the areas of program and home-school relationships, however, were so great as to give the standards an air of unreality.

The Child Welfare League standards include a short and very general statment concerning the role of the teacher, urging that she give children comfort, security, and protection. A list of recommended program activities also is provided. A longer section is concerned with the importance of integration of home and day-care relationships. Such integration would include preadmission counseling, on-going supervision and counseling, parent education, parent group meetings, and evaluation conferences by the staff on the problems of individual children.

In both of these respects most of the centers we observed were seriously lacking. Since the parents, teachers, and directors who participated in this study impressed us as being competent and committed to high standards of care, it may be that these standards are very difficult to meet in a group day-care setting.

Many of the recommended program activities require large amounts of adult time, both for preparation and for postactivity clean-up, and call for considerable interaction with children as individuals.

Perhaps one reason why home-school relationships seldom develop beyond the stage of friendly interchange or a conference on a serious health or behavior problem is that day-care staff do not possess enough factual knowledge about the kind of care children need to recommend ways in which day-care efforts should be complemented by care at home. Day-care routines and activities are easy to list, but when this type of information is communicated to a parent it merely assures the parent that the day-care center is doing good work and does not suggest the means by which the child's school life might be augmented in the home.

Perhaps what is especially needed from future studies of day-care centers is detailed information on the actual operation of day-care programs, with particular attention being paid to teacher behavior throughout the day. With this information it might be possible to consider how group care might best complement home care. Information of this nature might also be used to develop training courses for day-care personnel, whose purpose could be to increase skills in encouraging child behavior and activities that are not easily elicited in a group day-care setting. If day-care personnel possessed a clear and accurate conception of the strength and shortcomings inherent in a group day-care program, they might then have the factual basis for developing a genuinely cooperative and mutually helpful child-rearing relationship with parents.

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